The SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DOCTRINES OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

UMEMPHIM

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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IV

FASCISM

With deep erudition and great dialectical skill, Marx formulated and Lenin developed and matured the doctrinal content of contemporary Communism. For Italian Fascism, no one ever performed a like service. To be sure, writers like Alfredo Rocco, Giovanni Gentile, and Luigi Federzoni contributed to the movement more or less ample expositions of its ideological background and content. There is, however, among these commentators no full agreement, and they leave many basic questions unanswered. To be sure, too, Mussolini himself, in 1932, contributed to Volume XIV of the *Enciclopedia Italiana* a famous article entitled "The Doctrine of Fascism", which Mr Oakeshott reproduces in full in the ensuing section of this book; and, because of its authority, this document must be taken, so far as it goes, as an official statement on the subject. The article, however, is brief; prepared, moreover, by a man of no great intellectual power, it moves rather fitfully and emotionally over the surface of things, without often penetrating deeply into social phenomena after the manner of the monumental works to which one resorts for Communist and various other bodies of modern thought.

It has often been said, indeed, that Fascism has no doctrinal basis, being, instead, wholly pragmatic and empirical. Mussolini himself lent color to the charge by asserting on one occasion: "Fascism is based on reality, bolshevism is based on theory. . . . We want to be definite and real. We want to come out of the cloud of discussion and theory. My program . . . is action, not talk." At a different time, however, he conceded that even Fascism "has a doctrine, or, if you will, a particular philosophy with regard to all the questions which beset the human mind today"; and while one is privileged to doubt whether the boastful leader quite comprehended the sweep of his claim, he at least was right in asserting that his movement has had somewhat of a creed, even though arrived at largely by rationalization of experience rather than through the intellectual creativeness of a Marx or a Lenin.

As will be observed, the encyclopedia article falls into two parts —one labelled "Fundamental Ideas", the other, "Political and Social Doctrines", with the first part only a condensed abstract statement of the second. The second, indeed, may profitably be read before the first. Viewed as a whole, the document undertakes to do three things: (1) to discredit and repudiate individualistic liberalism,

democracy, socialism, communism, and every idea and creed not squaring with the concept of the all-embracing, ever-enduring, and self-sufficient totalitarian state; (2) to give Fascism a positive definition in terms of its rootage in history, its concepts of human values, its own peculiar, but avowedly superior, form of "liberty", and (3) to elucidate the notion of the Fascist state as "the highest and most powerful form of personality", embracing within the orbit of its regulative and creative authority the life and action of every person in every relationship and direction.

As supplementing the *Enciclopedia* article, Mr Oakeshott includes in his collection the Charter of Labor of 1927—a sufficiently pertinent document in that the essence of it largely appears also in the article. Although, to be sure, not a legislative act in origin or in form, the Charter has now, in piecemeal fashion, been extensively translated into law; and those of its principles not yet so incorporated have been recognized by the country's highest court as morally binding in the interpretation of laws already existent. One will look into this document especially to find Fascism's position on private initiative in industry, the right of the state to intervene in economic production, the individual's obligation to perform useful work, the right of workers to organize syndicates or unions, the rights of occupational organizations of employers, the methods prescribed for settling industrial disputes, and the rôle assigned industry and labor in the slowly evolving corporative system. The antecedent law of 1926 (p. 186) forbidding strikes and lockouts is, of course, pertinent. Both documents are to be studied especially as illustrative of the extension of Fascist theory into a particularly controversial field of social and political action.

Section 5, on the press, gives some indication of the technique of subjecting newspapers and their editors to governmental regulation, but only by implication suggests the rigors of censorship which have reduced the press, in all totalitarian states, to an enslaved agency of the régime.

To Mr Oakeshott's reference list may be added: F. W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought* (1934), Chap. XVII; C. Gini, "The Scientific Basis of Fascism", *Polit. Sci. Quar.*, Mar., 1927; G. Gentile, "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism", *Foreign Affairs*, Jan., 1928; and B. Mussolini, *My Autobiography* (1928).

IV

Before 1932 there existed no official exposition of the doctrine of Fascism, but in that year an article entitled *The Doctrine of Fascism* appeared in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. It is the work of Mussolini himself (though the first part of it, at least, shows the influence of the philosopher of Fascism, Gentile), and since 1932 it has frequently been reprinted. I give it in full because it remains the sole reliable statement of the doctrine.

For the rest I have had to depend upon passages from the laws of the present regime in Italy, the most important of which, for my purpose, is the *Charter of Labour* (1927). Dictatorship is, in Italy, a theory as well as a fact, but it has been difficult to find any satisfactory exposition of the theory. It appears to be conceived primarily in military terms; but nothing exists for Italy comparable to the elaborate doctrine of Leadership which has been developed in Germany. Consequently I have had to be content for my statement of this element of Fascist doctrine with the passing references which the official exposition of Fascist doctrine and the provisions of the Constitution of the Grand Fascist Council contain. The two versions of the *Fascist Decalogue* I have printed come from the years 1934 and 1938. They are not the only versions which have received currency from time to time in Italy; and though the differences between the two are striking, and may be important in practical politics, it is the similarities which make them important as statements of doctrine. I have included them for the insight they give into the spirit of this regime rather than for the relevance of any of the different clauses to the doctrine of Fascism.

§ 1. THE DOCTRINE OF FASCISM

BENITO MUSSOLINI

(i) Fundamental Ideas

1. Like every sound political conception, Fascism is both practice and thought; action in which a doctrine is immanent, and a doctrine which, arising out of a given system of historical forces, remains embedded in them and works there from within. Hence it has a form correlative to the contingencies of place and time, but it has also a content of thought which raises it to a formula of truth in the higher level of the history of thought. In the world one does not act spiritually as a human will dominating other wills without a conception of the transient and particular reality under which it is necessary to act, and of the permanent and universal reality in which the first has its being and its life. In order to know men it is necessary to know man; and in order to know man it is necessary to know reality and its laws. There is no concept of the State which is not fundamentally a concept of life: philosophy or intuition, a system of ideas which develops logically or is gathered up into a vision or into a faith, but which is always, at least virtually, an organic conception of the world.

2. Thus Fascism could not be understood in many of its practical manifestations as a party organization, as a system of education, as a discipline, if it were not always looked at in the light of its whole way of conceiving life, a spiritualized way. The world seen through Fascism is not this material world which appears on the surface, in which man is an individual separated from all others and standing by himself, and in which he is governed by a natural law that makes him instinctively live a life of selfish and momentary pleasure. The man of Fascism is an individual who is nation and fatherland, which is a moral law, binding together individuals and the generations into a tradition and a mission, suppressing the instinct for a life enclosed within the brief round of pleasure in order to restore within duty a higher life free from the limits of time and space: a life in which the individual, through the denial of himself, through the sacrifice of his own private interests, through death itself, realizes that completely spiritual existence in which his value as a man lies.

3. Therefore it is a spiritualized conception, itself the result of the general reaction of modern times against the flabby materialistic

positivism of the nineteenth century. Anti-positivistic, but positive: not sceptical, nor agnostic, nor pessimistic, nor passively optimistic, as are, in general, the doctrines (all negative) that put the centre of life outside man, who with his free will can and must create his own world. Fascism desires an active man, one engaged in activity with all his energies: it desires a man virilely conscious of the difficulties that exist in action and ready to face them. It conceives of life as a struggle, considering that it behoves man to conquer for himself that life truly worthy of him, creating first of all in himself the instrument (physical, moral, intellectual) in order to construct it. Thus for the single individual, thus for the nation, thus for humanity. Hence the high value of culture in all its forms (art, religion, science), and the enormous importance of education. Hence also the essential value of work, with which man conquers nature and creates the human world (economic, political, moral, intellectual).

4. This positive conception of life is clearly an ethical conception. It covers the whole of reality, not merely the human activity which controls it. No action can be divorced from moral judgement; there is nothing in the world which can be deprived of the value which belongs to everything in its relation to moral ends. Life, therefore, as conceived by the Fascist, is serious, austere, religious: the whole of it is poised in a world supported by the moral and responsible forces of the spirit. The Fascist disdains the "comfortable" life.

5. Fascism is a religious conception in which man is seen in his immanent relationship with a superior law and with an objective Will that transcends the particular individual and raises him to conscious membership of a spiritual society. Whoever has seen in the religious politics of the Fascist regime nothing but mere opportunism has not understood that Fascism besides being a system of government is also, and above all, a system of thought.

6. Fascism is an historical conception, in which man is what he is only in so far as he works with the spiritual process in which he finds himself, in the family or social group, in the nation and in the history in which all nations collaborate. From this follows the great value of tradition, in memories, in language, in customs, in the standards of social life. Outside history man is nothing. Consequently Fascism is opposed to all the individualistic abstractions of a materialistic nature like those of the eighteenth century; and it is opposed to all Jacobin utopias and innovations. It does not consider that "happiness" is

possible upon earth, as it appeared to be in the desire of the economic literature of the eighteenth century, and hence it rejects all teleological theories according to which mankind would reach a definitive stabilized condition at a certain period in history. This implies putting oneself outside history and life, which is a continual change and coming to be. Politically, Fascism wishes to be a realistic doctrine; practically, it aspires to solve only the problems which arise historically of themselves and that of themselves find or suggest their own solution. To act among men, as to act in the natural world, it is necessary to enter into the process of reality and to master the already operating forces.

7. Against individualism, the Fascist conception is for the State; and it is for the individual in so far as he coincides with the State, which is the conscience and universal will of man in his historical existence. It is opposed to classical Liberalism, which arose from the necessity of reacting against absolutism, and which brought its historical purpose to an end when the State was transformed into the conscience and will of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the interests of the particular individual; Fascism reaffirms the State as the true reality of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of the real man, and not of that abstract puppet envisaged by individualistic Liberalism, Fascism is for liberty. And for the only liberty which can be a real thing, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. Therefore, for the Fascist, everything is in the State, and nothing human or spiritual exists, much less has value, outside the State. In this sense Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State, the synthesis and unity of all values, interprets, develops and gives strength to the whole life of the people.

8. Outside the State there can be neither individuals nor groups (political parties, associations, syndicates, classes). Therefore Fascism is opposed to Socialism, which confines the movement of history within the class struggle and ignores the unity of classes established in one economic and moral reality in the State; and analogously it is opposed to class syndicalism. Fascism recognizes the real exigencies for which the socialist and syndicalist movement arose, but while recognizing them wishes to bring them under the control of the State and give them a purpose within the corporative system of interests reconciled within the unity of the State.

9. Individuals form classes according to the similarity of their interests, they form syndicates according to differentiated economic

activities within these interests; but they form first, and above all, the State, which is not to be thought of numerically as the sum-total of individuals forming the majority of a nation. And consequently Fascism is opposed to Democracy, which equates the nation to the majority, lowering it to the level of that majority; nevertheless it is the purest form of democracy if the nation is conceived, as it should be, qualitatively and not quantitatively, as the most powerful idea (most powerful because most moral, most coherent, most true) which acts within the nation as the conscience and the will of a few, even of One, which ideal tends to become active within the conscience and the will of all—that is to say, of all those who rightly constitute a nation by reason of nature, history or race, and have set out upon the same line of development and spiritual formation as one conscience and one sole will. Not a race,[1] nor a geographically determined region, but as a community historically perpetuating itself, a multitude unified by a single idea, which is the will to existence and to power: consciousness of itself, personality.

10. This higher personality is truly the nation in so far as it is the State. It is not the nation that generates the State, as according to the old naturalistic concept which served as the basis of the political theories of the national States of the nineteenth century. Rather the nation is created by the State, which gives to the people, conscious of its own moral unity, a will and therefore an effective existence. The right of a nation to independence derives not from a literary and ideal consciousness of its own being, still less from a more or less unconscious and inert acceptance of a *de facto* situation, but from an active consciousness, from a political will in action and ready to demonstrate its own rights: that is to say, from a state already coming into being. The State, in fact, as the universal ethical will, is the creator of right.

11. The nation as the State is an ethical reality which exists and lives in so far as it develops. To arrest its development is to kill it. Therefore the State is not only the authority which governs and gives the form of laws and the value of spiritual life to the wills of individuals, but it is also a power that makes its will felt abroad, making it known and respected, in other words, demonstrating the fact of its universality in all the necessary directions of its development. It is consequently organization and expansion, at least virtually. Thus it can be likened to

[1] "Race; it is an emotion, not a reality; ninety-five per cent of it is emotion." Mussolini.

the human will which knows no limits to its development and realizes itself in testing its own limitlessness.

12. The Fascist State, the highest and most powerful form of personality, is a force, but a spiritual force, which takes over all the forms of the moral and intellectual life of man. It cannot therefore confine itself simply to the functions of order and supervision as Liberalism desired. It is not simply a mechanism which limits the sphere of the supposed liberties of the individual. It is the form, the inner standard and the discipline of the whole person; it saturates the will as well as the intelligence. Its principle, the central inspiration of the human personality living in the civil community, pierces into the depths and makes its home in the heart of the man of action as well as of the thinker, of the artist as well as of the scientist: it is the soul of the soul.

13. Fascism, in short, is not only the giver of laws and the founder of institutions, but the educator and promoter of spiritual life. It wants to remake, not the forms of human life, but its content, man, character, faith. And to this end it requires discipline and authority that can enter into the spirits of men and there govern unopposed. Its sign, therefore, is the Lictors' rods, the symbol of unity, of strength and justice.

(ii) Political and Social Doctrine

1. When in the now distant March of 1919 I summoned to Milan, through the columns of the *Popolo d' Italia*, my surviving supporters who had followed me since the constitution of the Fasces of Revolutionary Action, founded in January 1915, there was no specific doctrinal plan in my mind. I had known and lived through only one doctrine, that of the Socialism of 1903–4 up to the winter of 1914, almost ten years. My experience in this had been that of a follower and of a leader, but not that of a theoretician. My doctrine, even in that period, had been a doctrine of action. An unequivocal Socialism, universally accepted, did not exist after 1905, when the Revisionist Movement began in Germany under Bernstein and there was formed in opposition to that, in the see-saw of tendencies, an extreme revolutionary movement, which in Italy never emerged from the condition of mere words, whilst in Russian Socialism it was the prelude to Bolshevism. Reform, Revolution, Centralization—even the echoes of the terminology are now spent; whilst in the great river of Fascism are to be found the

streams which had their source in Sorel, Peguy, in the Lagardelle of the *Mouvement Socialiste* and the groups of Italian Syndicalists, who between 1904 and 1914 brought a note of novelty into Italian Socialism, which by that time had been devitalized and drugged by fornication with Giolitti, in *Pagine Libere* of Olivetti, *La Lupa* of Orano and *Divenire Sociale* of Enrico Leone.

In 1919, at the end of the War, Socialism as a doctrine was already dead: it existed only as hatred, it had still only one possibility, especially in Italy, that of revenge against those who had wished for the War and who should be made to expiate it. The *Popolo d' Italia* expressed it in its sub-title—"The Newspaper of Combatants and Producers". The word "producers" was already the expression of a tendency. Fascism was not given out to the wet nurse of a doctrine elaborated beforehand round a table: it was born of the need for action; it was not a party, but in its first two years it was a movement against all parties. The name which I gave to the organization defined its characteristics. Nevertheless, whoever rereads, in the now crumpled pages of the time, the account of the constituent assembly of the *Fasci italiani di Combattimento* will not find a doctrine, but a series of suggestions, of anticipations, of admonitions, which when freed from the inevitable vein of contingency, were destined later, after a few years, to develop into a series of doctrinal attitudes which made of Fascism a self-sufficient political doctrine able to face all others, both past and present. "If the bourgeoisie", I said at that time, 'thinks to find in us a lightning-conductor, it is mistaken. We must go forward in opposition to Labour. . . . We want to accustom the working classes to being under a leader, to convince them also that it is not easy to direct an industry or a commercial undertaking successfully. . . . We shall fight against technical and spiritual retrogression. . . . The successors of the present regime still being undecided, we must not be unwilling to fight for it. We must hasten; when the present regime is superseded, we must be the ones to take its place. The right of succession belongs to us because we pushed the country into the War and we lead it to victory. The present method of political representation cannot be sufficient for us, we wish for a direct representation of individual interests. . . . It might be said against this programme that it is a return to the corporations. It doesn't matter! . . . I should like, nevertheless, the Assembly to accept the claims of national syndicalism from the point of view of economics. . . ."

Is it not surprising that from the first day in the Piazza San Sepolcro there should resound the word "Corporation" which was destined in the course of the revolution to signify one of the legislative and social creations at the base of the regime?

2. The years preceding the March on Rome were years during which the necessity of action did not tolerate enquiries or complete elaborations of doctrine. Battles were being fought in the cities and villages. There were discussions, but—and this is more sacred and important—there were deaths. People knew how to die. The doctrine—beautiful, well-formed, divided into chapters and paragraphs and surrounded by a commentary—might be missing; but there was present something more decisive to supplant it—Faith. Nevertheless, he who recalls the past with the aid of books, articles, votes in Parliament, the major and the minor speeches, he who knows how to investigate and weigh evidence, will find that the foundations of the doctrine were laid while the battle was raging. It was precisely in these years that Fascist thought armed itself, refined itself, moving towards one organization of its own. The problems of the individual and the State; the problems of authority and liberty; political and social problems and those more specifically national; the struggle against liberal, democratic, socialist, Masonic, demagogic doctrines was carried on at the same time as the "punitive expeditions". But since the "system" was lacking, adversaries ingenuously denied that Fascism had any power to make a doctrine of its own, while the doctrine rose up, even though tumultuously, at first under the aspect of a violent and dogmatic negation, as happens to all ideas that break new ground, then under the positive aspect of a constructive policy which, during the years 1926, 1927, 1928, was realized in the laws and institutions of the regime.

Fascism is to-day clearly defined not only as a regime but as a doctrine. And I mean by this that Fascism to-day, self-critical as well as critical of other movements, has an unequivocal point of view of its own, a criterion, and hence an aim, in face of all the material and intellectual problems which oppress the people of the world.

3. Above all, Fascism, in so far as it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from the political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace. It thus repudiates the doctrine of Pacifism—born of a renunciation of the struggle and an act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice. War alone brings up to their highest tension all human

energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it. All other trials are substitutes, which never really put a man in front of himself in the alternative of life and death. A doctrine, therefore, which begins with a prejudice in favour of peace is foreign to Fascism; as are foreign to the spirit of Fascism, even though acceptable by reason of the utility which they might have in given political situations, all internationalistic and socialistic systems which, as history proves, can be blown to the winds when emotional, idealistic and practical movements storm the hearts of peoples. Fascism carries over this anti-pacifist spirit even into the lives of individuals. The proud motto of the *Squadrista*, "Me ne frego", written on the bandages of a wound is an act of philosophy which is not only stoical, it is the epitome of a doctrine that is not only political: it is education for combat, the acceptance of the risks which it brings; it is a new way of life for Italy. Thus the Fascist accepts and loves life, he knows nothing of suicide and despises it; he looks on life as duty, ascent, conquest: life which must be noble and full: lived for oneself, but above all for those others near and far away, present and future.

4. The "demographic" policy of the regime follows from these premises. Even the Fascist does in fact love his neighbour, but this "neighbour" is not for him a vague and ill-defined concept; love for one's neighbour does not exclude necessary educational severities, and still less differentiations and distances. Fascism rejects universal concord, and, since it lives in the community of civilized peoples, it keeps them vigilantly and suspiciously before its eyes, it follows their states of mind and the changes in their interests and it does not let itself be deceived by temporary and fallacious appearances.

5. Such a conception of life makes Fascism the precise negation of that doctrine which formed the basis of the so-called Scientific or Marxian Socialism: the doctrine of historical Materialism, according to which the history of human civilizations can be explained only as the struggle of interest between the different social groups and as arising out of change in the means and instruments of production. That economic improvements—discoveries of raw materials, new methods of work, scientific inventions—should have an importance of their own, no one denies, but that they should suffice to explain human history to the exclusion of all other factors is absurd: Fascism believes, now and always, in holiness and in heroism, that is in acts in which no economic motive—remote or immediate—plays a part. With this

negation of historical materialism, according to which men would be only by-products of history, who appear and disappear on the surface of the waves while in the depths the real directive forces are at work, there is also denied the immutable and irreparable "class struggle" which is the natural product of this economic conception of history, and above all it is denied that the class struggle can be the primary agent of social changes. Socialism, being thus wounded in these two primary tenets of its doctrine, nothing of it is left save the sentimental aspiration —old as humanity—towards a social order in which the sufferings and the pains of the humblest folk could be alleviated. But here Fascism rejects the concept of an economic "happiness" which would be realized socialistically and almost automatically at a given moment of economic evolution by assuring to all a maximum prosperity. Fascism denies the possibility of the materialistic conception of "happiness" and leaves it to the economists of the first half of the eighteenth century; it denies, that is, the equation of prosperity with happiness, which would transform men into animals with one sole preoccupation: that of being well-fed and fat, degraded in consequence to a merely physical existence.

6. After Socialism, Fascism attacks the whole complex of democratic ideologies and rejects them both in their theoretical premises and in their applications or practical manifestations. Fascism denies that the majority, through the mere fact of being a majority, can rule human societies; it denies that this majority can govern by means of a periodical consultation; it affirms the irremediable, fruitful and beneficent inequality of men, who cannot be levelled by such a mechanical and extrinsic fact as universal suffrage. By democratic regimes we mean those in which from time to time the people is given the illusion of being sovereign, while true effective sovereignty lies in other, perhaps irresponsible and secret, forces. Democracy is a regime without a king, but with very many kings, perhaps more exclusive, tyrannical and violent than one king even though a tyrant. This explains why Fascism, although before 1922 for reasons of expediency it made a gesture of republicanism, renounced it before the March on Rome, convinced that the question of the political forms of a State is not pre-eminent to-day, and that studying past and present monarchies, past and present Republics it becomes clear that monarchy and republic are not to be judged *sub specie aeternitatis*, but represent forms in which the political evolution, the history, the tradition, the psychology of a given country are manifested. Now Fascism overcomes the antithesis

between monarchy and republic which retarded the movements of democracy, burdening the former with every defect and defending the latter as the regime of perfection. Now it has been seen that there are inherently reactionary and absolutistic republics, and monarchies that welcome the most daring political and social innovations.

7. "Reason, Science", said Renan (who was inspired before Fascism existed) in one of his philosophical Meditations, "are products of humanity, but to expect reason directly from the people and through the people is a chimera. It is not necessary for the existence of reason that everybody should know it. In any case, if such an initiation should be made, it would not be made by means of base democracy, which apparently must lead to the extinction of every difficult culture, and every higher discipline. The principle that society exists only for the prosperity and the liberty of the individuals who compose it does not seem to conform with the plans of nature, plans in which the species alone is taken into consideration and the individual seems to be sacrificed. It is strongly to be feared lest the last word of democracy thus understood (I hasten to say that it can also be understood in other ways) would be a social state in which a degenerate mass would have no other care than to enjoy the ignoble pleasures of vulgar men."

Thus far Renan. Fascism rejects in democracy the absurd conventional lie of political equalitarianism clothed in the dress of collective irresponsibility and the myth of happiness and indefinite progress. But if democracy can be understood in other ways, that is, if democracy means not to relegate the people to the periphery of the State, then Fascism could be defined as an "organized, centralized, authoritarian democracy".

8. In face of Liberal doctrines, Fascism takes up an attitude of absolute opposition both in the field of politics and in that of economics. It is not necessary to exaggerate—merely for the purpose of present controversies—the importance of Liberalism in the past century, and to make of that which was one of the numerous doctrines sketched in that century a religion of humanity for all times, present and future. Liberalism flourished for no more than some fifteen years. It was born in 1830, as a reaction against the Holy Alliance that wished to drag Europe back to what it had been before 1789, and it had its year of splendour in 1848 when even Pius IX was a Liberal. Immediately afterwards the decay set in. If 1848 was a year of light and of poetry, 1849 was a year of darkness and of tragedy. The Republic of Rome

was destroyed by another Republic, that of France. In the same year Marx launched the gospel of the religion of Socialism with the famous *Communist Manifesto*. In 1851 Napoleon III carried out his unliberal *coup d'état* and ruled over France until 1870, when he was dethroned by a popular revolt, but as a consequence of a military defeat which ranks among the most resounding that history can relate. The victor was Bismarck, who never knew the home of the religion of liberty or who were its prophets. It is symptomatic that a people of high culture like the Germans should have been completely ignorant of the religion of liberty during the whole of the nineteenth century. It was, there, no more than a parenthesis, represented by what has been called the "ridiculous Parliament of Frankfort" which lasted only a season. Germany has achieved her national unity outside the doctrines of Liberalism, against Liberalism, a doctrine which seems foreign to the German soul, a soul essentially monarchical, whilst Liberalism is the historical and logical beginning of anarchism. The stages of German unity are the three wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870, conducted by "Liberals" like Moltke and Bismarck. As for Italian unity, Liberalism has had in it a part absolutely inferior to the share of Mazzini and of Garibaldi, who were not Liberals. Without the intervention of the unliberal Napoleon we should not have gained Lombardy, and without the help of the unliberal Bismarck at Sadowa and Sedan, very probably we should not have gained Venice in 1866; and in 1870 we should not have entered Rome. From 1870–1915 there occurs the period in which the very priests of the new creed had to confess the twilight of their religion: defeated as it was by decadence in literature, by activism in practice. Activism: that is to say, Nationalism, Futurism, Fascism. The "Liberal" century, after having accumulated an infinity of Gordian knots, tried to untie them by the hecatomb of the World War. Never before has any religion imposed such a cruel sacrifice. Were the gods of Liberalism thirsty for blood? Now Liberalism is about to close the doors of its deserted temples because the peoples feel that its agnosticism in economics, its indifferentism in politics and in morals, would lead, as they have led, the States to certain ruin. In this way one can understand why all the political experiences of the contemporary world are anti-Liberal, and it is supremely ridiculous to wish on that account to class them outside of history; as if history were a hunting ground reserved to Liberalism and its professors, as if Liberalism were the definitive and no longer surpassable message of civilization.

9. But the Fascist repudiations of Socialism, Democracy, Liberalism must not make one think that Fascism wishes to make the world return to what it was before 1789, the year which has been indicated as the year of the beginning of the liberal-democratic age. One does not go backwards. The Fascist doctrine has not chosen De Maistre as its prophet. Monarchical absolutism is a thing of the past and so also is every theocracy. So also feudal privileges and division into impenetrable and isolated castes have had their day. The theory of Fascist authority has nothing to do with the police State. A party that governs a nation in a totalitarian way is a new fact in history. References and comparisons are not possible. Fascism takes over from the ruins of Liberal Socialistic democratic doctrines those elements which still have a living value. It preserves those that can be called the established facts of history, it rejects all the rest, that is to say the idea of a doctrine which holds good for all times and all peoples. If it is admitted that the nineteenth century has been the century of Socialism, Liberalism and Democracy, it does not follow that the twentieth must also be the century of Liberalism, Socialism and Democracy. Political doctrines pass; peoples remain. It is to be expected that this century may be that of authority, a century of the "Right", a Fascist century. If the nineteenth was the century of the individual (Liberalism means individualism) it may be expected that this one may be the century of "collectivism" and therefore the century of the State. That a new doctrine should use the still vital elements of other doctrines is perfectly logical. No doctrine is born quite new, shining, never before seen. No doctrine can boast of an absolute "originality". It is bound, even if only historically, to other doctrines that have been, and to develop into other doctrines that will be. Thus the scientific socialism of Marx is bound to the Utopian Socialism of the Fouriers, the Owens and the Saint-Simons; thus the Liberalism of the nineteenth century is connected with the whole "Enlightenment" of the eighteenth century. Thus the doctrines of democracy are bound to the *Encyclopédie*. Every doctrine tends to direct the activity of men towards a determined objective; but the activity of man reacts upon the doctrine, transforms it, adapts it to new necessities or transcends it. The doctrine itself, therefore, must be, not words, but an act of life. Hence, the pragmatic veins in Fascism, its will to power, its will to be, its attitude in the face of the fact of "violence" and of its own courage.

10. The keystone of Fascist doctrine is the conception of the State,

of its essence, of its tasks, of its ends. For Fascism the State is an absolute before which individuals and groups are relative. Individuals and groups are "thinkable" in so far as they are within the State. The Liberal State does not direct the interplay and the material and spiritual development of the groups, but limits itself to registering the results; the Fascist State has a consciousness of its own, a will of its own, on this account it is called an "ethical" State. In 1929, at the first quinquennial assembly of the regime, I said: "For Fascism, the State is not the night-watchman who is concerned only with the personal security of the citizens; nor is it an organization for purely material ends, such as that of guaranteeing a certain degree of prosperity and a relatively peaceful social order, to achieve which a council of administration would be sufficient, nor is it a creation of mere politics with no contact with the material and complex reality of the lives of individuals and the life of peoples. The State, as conceived by Fascism and as it acts, is a spiritual and moral fact because it makes concrete the political, juridical, economic organization of the nation and such an organization is, in its origin and in its development, a manifestation of the spirit. The State is the guarantor of internal and external security, but it is also the guardian and the transmitter of the spirit of the people as it has been elaborated through the centuries in language, custom, faith. The State is not only present, it is also past, and above all future. It is the State which, transcending the brief limit of individual lives, represents the immanent conscience of the nation. The forms in which States express themselves change, but the necessity of the State remains. It is the State which educates citizens for civic virtue, makes them conscious of their mission, calls them to unity; harmonizes their interests in justice; hands on the achievements of thought in the sciences, the arts, in law, in human solidarity; it carries men from the elementary life of the tribe to the highest human expression of power which is Empire; it entrusts to the ages the names of those who died for its integrity or in obedience to its laws; it puts forward as an example and recommends to the generations that are to come the leaders who increased its territory and the men of genius who gave it glory. When the sense of the State declines and the disintegrating and centrifugal tendencies of individuals and groups prevail, national societies move to their decline."

11. From 1929 up to the present day these doctrinal positions have been strengthened by the whole economico-political evolution of the world. It is the State alone that grows in size, in power. It is the State

alone that can solve the dramatic contradictions of capitalism. What is called the crisis cannot be overcome except by the State, within the State. Where are the shades of the Jules Simons who, at the dawn of liberalism, proclaimed that "the State must strive to render itself unnecessary and to prepare for its demise"; of the MacCullochs who, in the second half of the last century, affirmed that the State must abstain from too much governing? And faced with the continual, necessary and inevitable interventions of the State in economic affairs what would the Englishman Bentham now say, according to whom industry should have asked of the State only to be left in peace? Or the German Humboldt, according to whom the "idle" State must be considered the best? It is true that the second generation of liberal economists was less extremist than the first, and already Smith himself opened, even though cautiously, the door to State intervention in economics. But when one says liberalism, one says the individual; when one says Fascism, one says the State. But the Fascist State is unique; it is an original creation. It is not reactionary, but revolutionary in that it anticipates the solutions of certain universal problems. These problems are no longer seen in the same light: in the sphere of politics they are removed from party rivalries, from the supreme power of parliament, from the irresponsibility of assemblies; in the sphere of economics they are removed from the sphere of the syndicates' activities—activities that were ever widening their scope and increasing their power both on the workers' side and on the employers'—removed from their struggles and their designs; in the moral sphere they are divorced from ideas of the need for order, discipline and obedience, and lifted into the plane of the moral commandments of the fatherland. Fascism desires the State to be strong, organic and at the same time founded on a wide popular basis. The Fascist State has also claimed for itself the field of economics and, through the corporative, social and educational institutions which it has created, the meaning of the State reaches out to and includes the farthest off-shoots; and within the State, framed in their respective organizations, there revolve all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation. A State founded on millions of individuals who recognize it, feel it, are ready to serve it, is not the tyrannical State of the medieval lord. It has nothing in common with the absolutist States that existed either before or after 1789. In the Fascist State the individual is not suppressed, but rather multiplied, just as in a regiment a soldier is not weakened but multiplied by the

number of his comrades. The Fascist State organizes the nation, but it leaves sufficient scope to individuals; it has limited useless or harmful liberties and has preserved those that are essential. It cannot be the individual who decides in this matter, but only the State.

12. The Fascist State does not remain indifferent to the fact of religion in general and to that particular positive religion which is Italian Catholicism. The State has no theology, but it has an ethic. In the Fascist State religion is looked upon as one of the deepest manifestations of the spirit; it is, therefore, not only respected, but defended and protected. The Fascist State does not create a "God" of its own, as Robespierre once, at the height of the Convention's foolishness, wished to do; nor does it vainly seek, like Bolshevism, to expel religion from the minds of men; Fascism respects the God of the ascetics, of the saints, of the heroes, and also God as seen and prayed to by the simple and primitive heart of the people.

13. The Fascist State is a will to power and to government. In it the tradition of Rome is an idea that has force. In the doctrine of Fascism Empire is not only a territorial, military or mercantile expression, but spiritual or moral. One can think of an empire, that is to say a nation that directly or indirectly leads other nations, without needing to conquer a single square kilometre of territory. For Fascism the tendency to Empire, that is to say, to the expansion of nations, is a manifestation of vitality; its opposite, staying at home, is a sign of decadence: peoples who rise or re-rise are imperialist, peoples who die are renunciatory. Fascism is the doctrine that is most fitted to represent the aims, the states of mind, of a people, like the Italian people, rising again after many centuries of abandonment or slavery to foreigners. But Empire calls for discipline, co-ordination of forces, duty and sacrifice; this explains many aspects of the practical working of the regime and the direction of many of the forces of the State and the necessary severity shown to those who would wish to oppose this spontaneous and destined impulse of the Italy of the twentieth century, to oppose it in the name of the superseded ideologies of the nineteenth, repudiated wherever great experiments of political and social transformation have been courageously attempted: especially where, as now, peoples thirst for authority, for leadership, for order. If every age has its own doctrine, it is apparent from a thousand signs that the doctrine of the present age is Fascism. That it is a doctrine of life is shown by the fact that it has resuscitated a faith. That this faith has conquered

minds is proved by the fact that Fascism has had its dead and its martyrs.

Fascism henceforward has in the world the universality of all those doctrines which, by fulfilling themselves, have significance in the history of the human spirit.

La Dottrina del Fascismo (1932)

§ 2. THE NATURE OF FASCISM

The National Fascist Party is a civil militia for the service of the nation. Its objective: to realize the greatness of the Italian people. From its beginnings, which are indistinguishable from the renaissance of the Italian conscience and the will to victory, until now, the party has always thought of itself as in a state of war, at first in order to combat those who were stifling the will of the nation, to-day and from henceforth to defend and increase the power of the Italian people. Fascism is not merely an Italian organization connected with a programme partly realized and partly still to be realized; it is above all a faith which has had its confessors, and under the impulse of which the new Italians work as soldiers, pledged to achieve victory in the struggle between the nation and its enemies. The Party is an essential part of this new organization, and its function is fundamental and indispensable to the vitality of the regime. In the hour of vigil, its organization was fixed according to the necessities of battle, and the people recognized the Duce by the marks of his will, his strength and his achievements. In the heat of the struggle, action took precedence of law. Every stage was marked by a conquest, and the assemblies were only gatherings of officers and men dominated by the memory of the dead. Without dogmatic formulas or rigid projects, Fascism knows that victory lies in the possibility of its own continuous renewal. Fascism lives to-day in terms of the future, and regards the new generations as forces destined to achieve the ends appointed by our will. Without order and hierarchy, there can be neither discipline nor effort nor education of the people, which must receive light and guidance from that high place where is to be found the complete vision of rewards, tasks, functions and merits, and where the only guidance is in the general interest.

From *The Preamble to the Statuto of* 20 *December* 1929

§ 3. THE FASCIST DECALOGUE

(i)

1. Know that the Fascist and in particular the soldier, must not believe in perpetual peace.

2. Days of imprisonment are always deserved.

3. The nation serves even as a sentinel over a can of petrol.

4. A companion must be a brother, first, because he lives with you, and secondly because he thinks like you.

5. The rifle and cartridge belt, and the rest, are confided to you not to rust in leisure, but to be preserved in war.

6. Do not ever say "The Government will pay . . ." because it is *you* who pay; and the Government is that which you willed to have, and for which you put on a uniform.

7. Discipline is the soul of armies; without it there are no soldiers, only confusion and defeat.

8. Mussolini is always right.

9. For a volunteer there are no extenuating circumstances when he is disobedient.

10. One thing must be dear to you above all: the life of the Duce.

1934

(ii)

1. Remember that those who fell for the revolution and for the empire march at the head of your columns.

2. Your comrade is your brother. He lives with you, thinks with you, and is at your side in the battle.

3. Service to Italy can be rendered at all times, in all places, and by every means. It can be paid with toil and also with blood.

4. The enemy of Fascism is your enemy. Give him no quarter.

5. Discipline is the sunshine of armies. It prepares and illuminates the victory.

6. He who advances to the attack with decision has victory already in his grasp.

7. Conscious and complete obedience is the virtue of the Legionary.

8. There do not exist things important and things unimportant. There is only duty.

9. The Fascist revolution has depended in the past and still depends on the bayonets of its Legionaries.

10. Mussolini is always right.

1938

§ 4. ON THE CONSTITUTION AND ATTRIBUTES OF THE FASCIST GRAND COUNCIL

I. The Fascist Grand Council is the supreme organ which co-ordinates and integrates all the activities of the regime sprung from the October revolution of 1922. It exercises the legislative function on the occasions specified by law, and it is bound furthermore, when consulted by the leader of the government, to advise on all other questions of national interest, whether political, economic or social.

II. The leader of the government, Prime Minister Secretary of State, is *ex officio* the President of the Fascist Grand Council. He calls it when he considers its meeting expedient, and he determines the agenda.

III. The secretary of the National Fascist Party is the secretary of the Grand Council.

The leader of the government is empowered to delegate to him the Presidency of the Grand Council if he himself should be prevented or absent, or when his office falls vacant.

IX. No member of the Grand Council may be arrested, unless caught *in flagrante delicto*, nor can penal procedure be proceeded with against him, nor police measures be taken, without the authorization of the Grand Council.

In the case of a member of the Grand Council, belonging to the National Fascist Party, no disciplinary measure can be taken against him without a deliberation of the Grand Council.

X. The functions of a member of the Grand Council are unpaid.

The State is not required to furnish the expenses of the functioning of the Grand Council.

The sittings of the Grand Council are secret. A private rule, approved by the Grand Council, shall govern all other measures concerned with its functioning.

XII. The advice of the Grand Council is to be taken on all questions with a constitutional bearing.

In every case, the decrees of the laws dealing with the following matters shall be considered to have a constitutional character:

(i) the succession to the throne, the attributes and prerogatives of the crown;

(ii) the formation and the functioning of the Grand Council, of the Senate of the kingdom and the Chamber of Deputies;

(iii) the attributes and the prerogatives of the leader of the government, Prime Minister Secretary of State;

(iv) the competence of the executive power to declare the juridical norms;

(v) syndical and corporative organization;

(vi) the relations between the State and the Holy See;

(vii) those international treaties involving either modifications of the territory of the State and the colonies, or limitations to the further acquisition of territory.

6. The charter (*statuto*) of the National Fascist Party shall be sanctioned by royal decree, on the recommendation of the leader of the government, Prime Minister Secretary of State, and (it is understood) of the Fascist Grand Council and the council of ministers.

7. The secretary of the National Fascist Party is appointed by royal decree, on the recommendation of the leader of the government, Prime Minister Secretary of State.

He is, *ex officio*, a member of the Supreme Committee of Defence, of the Higher Council of National Education, of the National Council of Corporations and of the Central Corporative Committee.

By royal decree or on the recommendation of the leader of the government, the secretary of the National Fascist Party may be called upon to participate and take his seat in the council of ministers.

8. The members of the National Directorate of the Fascist Party are appointed by a decree of the leader of the government, Prime Minister Secretary of State, on the recommendation of the secretary of the Party.

9. The secretary and the members of the National Directorate of the National Fascist Party remain in office for three years.

10. The federal secretaries of the National Fascist Party are nominated by decree of the leader of the government, Prime Minister

Secretary of State, on the recommendation of the secretary of the Party, and remain in office for one year.

From *The Law of* 9 *December* 1928 *as amended* 14 *December* 1929

§ 5. THE PRESS

All newspapers and periodicals shall have a responsible director.

If the director is a senator or a deputy he shall be one of the usual editors of the newspaper or periodical.

The name of the director or responsible editor shall be on the register of professional journalists.

The director or responsible editor should be approved by the magistrate of the Court in the jurisdiction of which the newspaper or periodical is licensed.

The magistrate may refuse to approve, or revoke his approval of anyone who has been twice convicted of a press offence. . . .

The publication of a newspaper or periodical shall not take place until the magistrate has approved of the person responsible for it.

Any newspaper or periodical which appears without the approval of the magistrate shall be suppressed.

At the same time as the request of the responsible person for recognition, the printer of the newspaper or periodical and the editor must present to the magistrate a declaration of all the names and occupations of all the proprietors of the newspaper or periodical, their domicile and their address. . . .

The proprietors of a newspaper share with the editor the civil responsibility for all sums due for damages or for the reparation of injuries, or for costs of actions brought for press offences. . . .

There shall be a roll of journalists in every town possessing a Court. This roll shall constitute the professional registers, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Court. Only the journalists who appear in these registers shall be permitted to exercise their profession.

The conditions governing registration shall be determined by a special rule.[1]

From *The Law of* 31 *December* 1925

[1] By a decree of 26 February 1928 the qualifications for admission to the Roll of Journalists are proof of good moral and political standing and the possession of a secondary school diploma or its equivalent. This means, in effect, for the future, satisfactory passage through the Young Fascist organizations.

§ 6. THE CHARTER OF LABOUR

(This is not a legislative act, but was approved and promulgated by the Fascist Grand Council, 21 April 1927, and is regarded in Italy as an "organic" law of regime.)

I. The Italian nation is an organic whole having life, purposes and means of action superior in power and duration to those of the individuals, single or associated, of which it is composed. It is a moral, political and economic unity, which is realized integrally in the Fascist State.

II. Work in all its forms—intellectual, technical or manual—whether organization or execution—is a social duty. And for this reason only it is regulated by the State. The process of production, from the national point of view, is a single whole; its aims are united and identified with the well-being of the producers and the promotion of national power.

III. Occupational or syndical organization is free; but only the juridically recognized syndicate which submits to the control of State has the right to represent legally the entire category of employers or workers for which it is constituted, in safeguarding its interests *vis-à-vis* the State and other occupational associations, in making collective contracts of work binding on all the members of the category, in levying contributions and exercising over its members functions delegated to it in the public interest.

IV. In the collective contract of work the solidarity of the various factors of production finds its concrete expression in the reconciliation of the conflicting interests of employers and employees and in their subordination to the superior interests of production.

V. The Labour Court is the organ by which the State intervenes in the settlement of labour disputes, whether they are concerned with the application of contracts or other existing regulations, or with the working out of new conditions of labour.

VI. Legally recognized occupational associations guarantee juridical equality between employers and employed, and maintain the discipline of production and work and promote the improvement of both. The Corporations constitute the unified organization of the forces of production and represent completely the interests of production. And on account of this integral representation, and because the interests of production are national interests, Corporations are recognized by law

as organs of the State. As organs representing the unified interests of production, the corporation may make binding rules regulating the relations of labour on the co-ordination of production, whenever they receive the mandate of their affiliated associations.

VII. The Corporative State considers private enterprise in the domain of production to be the most efficient method and the most advantageous to the interests of the nation. Private enterprise in production, being an activity of national interest, the entrepreneur is responsible to the State for his organization. A reciprocity of rights and duties follows from the collaboration of the forces of production. The wage-earner, artisan, employee or labourer is an active collaborator in the economic enterprise, the direction of which belongs to the employer who also carries the responsibility.

VIII. Occupational associations of employers have the duty of using every means to increase and improve production and to reduce costs. The associations of those who pursue a liberal profession or an art, and the associations of employees and wage-earners in the public services, co-operate to safeguard the interests of art, science and letters, to improve production and to realize the moral ends of the corporative regime.

IX. The State intervenes in economic production only when private enterprise fails or is insufficient or when the political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention may take the form of control, encouragement or direct management.

X. In collective labour disputes judicial action shall be invoked only when the corporative organ has first made an attempt at conciliation. In individual disputes concerning the interpretation and application of collective contracts, the occupational associations have the power to offer their good offices as mediators. The competence to deal with such disputes lies with the ordinary courts, which act with the body of assessors appointed by the interested occupational associations.

XXVI. Provident insurance being an important manifestation of the principle of collaboration between the classes; both employers and workers should support it, bearing in proportion the expenses it involves. The State, through the medium of the corporative bodies and the occupational associations, exerts itself so far as is possible in co-ordinating and unifying the system and the various insurance institutions.

From *The Charter of Labour*, 21 *April* 1927

§ 7. LOCK-OUTS AND STRIKES

Lock-outs and strikes are forbidden.

Employers who, without justifiable cause, and solely for the purpose of obtaining from their employees modifications in the stringency of contracts of work, suspend work in their establishments, offices or workshops, shall be punished with a fine varying from 10,000 to 100,000 lira.

Employees or workmen who, to the number of three or more than three, by mutual consent without more ado stop work, or who carry on their work in such a manner as to endanger its continuity or its regularity, for the purpose of imposing on their employers a modification in the terms of their contract of work, shall be punished with a fine varying from 100 to 1000 lira. . . .

When the authors of the above-mentioned offences are more numerous, the principal instigators and organizers shall be punished by imprisonment for at least one year and at most two years, and by the fine stated in the preceding paragraphs.

Officials and employees in public services and those employed in enterprises involving the public interest, who, to the number of at least three, by mutual consent stop work, or carry on their work in such a manner as to endanger its continuity or its regularity, shall be punished by imprisonment for a period varying from one year to six months, with a prohibition on their filling a public office for six months. . . .

When the suspension of work by employers, or the negligence and irregularity in carrying on their work by employees, have for their purpose the exercise of pressure on the will, or the influencing of the decision of an institution of the State, the province or the commune, or of a public official, the leaders, instigators and organizers shall be punished with a term of imprisonment varying from three to seven years, with a permanent prohibition on their filling a public office.

From *The Law of* 3 *April* 1926. §§ 18, 19

BOOK LIST

A. Rocco. *The Political Doctrine of Fascism.* (*Bulletin of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.* No. 223. October 1926)

A. Lion. *The Pedigree of Fascism* (1927)

H. Finer. *Mussolini's Italy* (1935)

F. Pitigliani. *The Italian Corporative State* (1935)